

EXDIS


E.O. 12065: RDS 1,3 12/4/99 (CHAPMAN, CHRISTIAN) DR-P  
TAGS: PEPR, IR, FR, US  
SUBJ: FOREIGN MINISTRY PLANNING STAFF ANALYSIS OF  
IRANIAN SITUATION

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT).
2. SUMMARY. CHIEF OF FOREIGN MINISTRY PLANNING STAFF (GERGORIN) CALLED IN POLCOUNS DEC 4 TO GIVE HIM ANALYSIS OF IRANIAN SITUATION WHICH HE SAID WAS CONSENSUS OF WORKING LEVEL AT THE MINISTRY AND CLOSE TO THE THINKING OF FORMIN FRANCOIS-PONCEY, WHO APPROVED THE BRIEFING. GERGORIN HOPES BY THIS TO PROMOTE DIALOGUE ON IRAN WITH USG. ACCORDING TO PLANNING STAFF ANALYSIS THERE WAS LITTLE SPONTANEOUS IN SEIZING OF US EMBASSY. KHOMEINY LAUNCHED THE ANTI-US ACTION TO REGAIN WHAT HE HAD LOST IN POPULAR ESTEEM AND CONTROL AND TO UNITE THE COUNTRY AROUND HIM. IN TERMS OF HOSTAGE SITUATION THERE ARE THREE RELEVANT ELEMENTS TO THE POWER STRUCTURE: A) KHOMEINY, HIS RELATIVES AND CLOSEST FOLLOWERS, B) WESTERNIZED PERSONS IN THE FORMAL STRUCTURE WHO ARE USED FOR CONTACTS WITH THE WEST, AND ARE TOTALLY DEPENDENT ON KHOMEINY AND EXERCISE LITTLE INFLUENCE OVER THE THIRD GROUP, C) THE STUDENTS OCCUPYING THE EMBASSY. AS HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED, ANY ORDERS TO THE STUDENT GROUP MUST HAVE THE ABSOLUTE SUPPORT OF KHOMEINY.

State Dept. review completed

DEC 5 9 35 PM '79

3. ACCORDING TO THIS ANALYSIS KHOMEINY IS PLAYING A LONG-TERM GAME. HE WILL NOT RELEASE THE HOSTAGES SOON. UNTIL HE HAS CONSOLIDATED HIS POWER IN IRAN HE NEEDS THE HOSTAGES AS A UNIFYING FORCE. HE WILL ALLOW FOLLOWERS SUCH AS GHOTBZADEH TO MAKE SMALL GESTURES OF APPEASEMENT TO MOLLIFY IRAN'S CRITICS. HE WILL ALSO USE THREATS TO TRY AND PUNISH THE HOSTAGES TO FORESTALL ACTION BY THE US TO PRESSURE IRAN. KHOMEINY IS FOLLOWING A RATIONAL STRATEGY DESPITE THE EXTREMISM OF HIS GOALS. THE CURRENT IRANIAN SITUATION IS GIVING A BOOST TO THE ISLAMIC REVIVAL. THE EFFECT NEED NOT BE WIDESPREAD. THE ARAB GULF STATES HAVE SHOWN REMARKABLE STABILITY THOUGH RECENT EVENTS IN SAUDI ARABIA ARE WORRYING; THE MYTH OF SAUDI STABILITY HAS BEEN BROKEN. FRANCE SEES TWO WESTERN OBJECTIVES IN THE CURRENT REGIONAL SITUATION: (1) OBTAIN RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES AND LIMIT REPERCUSSIONS IN THE AREA AND (2) REINFORCE THE STABILITY OF THE STATES OF THE REGION. THERE IS A POTENTIAL CONTRADICTION HERE; IF FORCE IS USED TO OBTAIN THE FIRST OBJECTIVE, IT COULD WORK AGAINST THE SECOND OBJECTIVE OVER THE LONGER TERM. IN THE FRENCH ANALYSIS, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT KHOMEINY NOT EMERGE STRONGER THAN EVER. STRONG US ACTION MIGHT MAKE HIM A HERO. IN EFFECT THE FRENCH ANALYSIS GOES AGAINST UNILATERAL US USE OF FORCE. SPEAKING PERSONALLY (PROTECT), GERGORIN SAID IT MIGHT BE BEST TO ALLOW IRAN'S INTERNAL PROBLEMS TO GROW WORSE AS IRAN REMAINS INTERNATIONALLY ISOLATED. GERGORIN HINTED THAT US RECOURSE TO UN SANCTIONS PROCEDURES SEEMED THE MOST PROMISING AVENUE IF THE US FELT CONSTRAINED TO A STRONG RESPONSE. END SUMMARY.



4. THE CHIEF OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY PLANNING STAFF, JEAN-LOUIS GERGORIN, CALLED IN THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR NOVEMBER 4 TO PRESENT AN ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN IRAN PREPARED BY THE PLANNING STAFF BUT WHICH, HE SAID, REPRESENTS THE CONSENSUS OF THE WORKING LEVEL OF THE MINISTRY AND IS CLOSE TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S OWN ANALYSIS. THE BRIEFING WAS BEING GIVEN WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER. GERGORIN TOLD THE POLCOUNS THAT THE GENESIS OF THE BRIEFING WAS A RECENT CONVERSATION HE HAD HAD WITH TONY LAKE. THE FRENCH HOPE THAT THIS BRIEFING WILL CONTRIBUTE TO A DIALOGUE EITHER IN WASHINGTON OR PARIS. GERGORIN SAID THAT IF LAKE WANTS TO PROVIDE HIS OWN ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION, IT WILL BE APPRECIATED. GERGORIN WILL BE SENDING AN ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING TO AMB DE LABOULAYE

BT

#8104

NNNNVV EIA598LAN999

UU RUEAIIIC

ZNY SSSSSS ZDC STATE ZZH

TSTU299

UU RUEHC

DE RUFNPS #8104/02 3391757

ZNY SSSSSS ZZH

D 051755Z DEC 79

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9323

BT

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 38104

EXDIS

IN WASHINGTON TO FACILITATE DIALOGUE THERE.

5. ORIGIN OF THE CRISIS. INTERNAL FACTORS WERE DOMINANT. KHOMEINY LAUNCHED AN ANTI-AMERICAN CAMPAIGN INVOLVING SEIZING HOSTAGES IN ORDER TO REGAIN WHAT HE HAD LOST IN THE WAY OF PUBLIC ESTEEM AND SUPPORT AND TO UNITE THE IRANIAN PEOPLE AROUND HIM. AN ELEMENT OF THE SITUATION WHICH SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED IS THE EXTENT OF DIVISION BETWEEN PERSIAN AND AZERBAIJANI SHIITES. THE REFERENDUM ON THE CONSTITUTION WAS NOT VERY CONVINCING FOR KHOMEINY AND THERE ARE REPORTS OF SERIOUS INCIDENTS HAVING TAKEN

DEC 5 3 35 PM '79

6. STRUCTURE OF POWER. THE WAY POWER IS ORGANIZED

IN IRAN GIVES LITTLE ROOM FOR OPTIMISM IN THE HOSTAGE SITUATION. IN THIS REGARD THERE ARE ESSENTIALLY THREE RELEVANT ELEMENTS: (1) KHOMEINY, HIS RELATIVES AND CLOSEST FOLLOWERS INCLUDING A NUMBER OF AYATOLLAHS; (2) KHOMEINY'S WESTERNIZED FOLLOWERS (E.G. BANI SADR, GHUTZBADEH) WHO ARE HIS CONTACT WITH THE WEST; THESE PEOPLE ARE USEFUL BUT WE DUGHT NOT TO OVERESTIMATE THEIR POWER; THEY ARE TOTALLY DEPENDENT ON KHOMEINY AND THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL; AND (3) THE STUDENTS OCCUPYING THE EMBASSY. THE SECOND GROUP HAS NO INFLUENCE OVER THE STUDENTS. FOR AN ORDER TO BE CARRIED OUT BY THE STUDENTS, IT MUST HAVE THE ABSOLUTE SUPPORT OF KHOMEINY. GERGORIN CHARACTERIZED THIS GROUP AS LEFTIST BUT WAS UNABLE TO CHARACTERIZE FURTHER; THERE SEEMS NO TUDEH INVOLVEMENT. CONCERNING KHOMEINY AND THE COUNCIL, HE STANDS IN RELATION TO IT RATHER LIKE A STALIN OR MAO. HE DOES NOT TAKE A POSITION ON EVERY ISSUE AND THERE ARE THOSE WHO DISAGREE WITH HIM. IT IS UNTHINKABLE, HOWEVER, THAT HE WOULD EVER BE IN THE MINORITY ON ANY ISSUE.

7. EVOLUTION OF THE SITUATION. THE FRENCH ANALYSIS IS PESSIMISTIC; THE STRATEGY OF KHOMEINY IS TO USE TIME. UNTIL HE HAS CONSOLIDATED HIS POWER HE INTENDS TO USE THE UNIFYING ELEMENT OF THE HOSTAGES. HE WILL MAKE SMALL GESTURES AS A TACTIC TO MOLLIFY IRAN'S CRITICS BUT HE IS LOOKING TO THE LONGER TERM. KHOMEINY WILL USE THREATS TO TRY OR PUNISH THE HOSTAGES IN AN ATTEMPT TO FORESTALL US ACTIONS DESIGNED TO PRESSURE

IRAN. AN ESCALATION IN THE USE OF THE HOSTAGES WILL

ATTEMPT TO FORESTALL US ACTIONS DESIGNED TO PRESSURE IRAN. AN ESCALATION IN THE USE OF THE HOSTAGES WILL BE BY MEASURED STEPS. DESPITE THE EXTREMISM OF HIS GOALS AND ACTIONS KHOMEINY IS NOT IRRATIONAL BUT IS PROFITING FROM THE SITUATION. GIVEN THIS VIEW OF KHOMEINY'S STRATEGY, GERGORIN SAID THE PLANNING STAFF DID NOT FORESEE THE EARLY LIBERATION OF THE HOSTAGES OR MAJOR IRANIAN CONCESSIONS. HE THEREFORE REGARDS THE INITIATIVES OF GHOTBZADEH WITH INTEREST BUT NOT MUCH EXPECTATION THAT THEY WILL LEAD TO ANYTHING. AS FOR GHOTBZADEH, IF HE DOES NOT HAVE EVEN THE INTEL-LECTUAL HONESTY OF BANI SADR, HE IS MORE AMBITIOUS TO HOLD ON TO AUTHORITY. IF HE GOES TOO FAR IN TAKING A POSITION, HE WILL READILY GO BACK ON IT TO PRESERVE HIS STANDING WITH THE COUNCIL AND KHOMEINY.

V

8. ROLE OF THE ELECTIONS. THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE ELECTIONS IS THE VOTE IN AZERBAIJAN. IF THE ELECTIONS WENT BADLY THERE (WHICH REPORTS OF INCIDENTS SUGGEST MIGHT BE THE CASE) THERE COULD BE A HARDENING OF KHOMEINY'S POSITIONS ON THE HOSTAGE ISSUE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THEY WENT WELL, THERE COULD POSSIBLY BE SOME SOFTENING. THE ELECTIONS ARE NOT OTHERWISE IMMEDIATELY RELEVANT TO THE HOSTAGE SITUATION OTHER THAN AS A STEP IN KHOMEINY'S CONSOLIDATION OF POWER.

✓

9. REPERCUSSIONS. THE CURRENT SITUATION IN IRAN HAS HAD A DOUBLE RESONANCE IN THE REGION. ON THE ONE HAND IT HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE ISLAMIC REVIVAL -- A MOVEMENT WHICH IS NOT IN ITSELF ANTI-WESTERN BUT

8. ROLE OF THE ELECTIONS. THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE ELECTIONS IS THE VOTE IN AZERBAIJAN. IF THE ELECTIONS WENT BADLY THERE (WHICH REPORTS OF INCIDENTS SUGGEST MIGHT BE THE CASE) THERE COULD BE A HARDENING OF KHOMEINY'S POSITIONS ON THE HOSTAGE ISSUE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THEY WENT WELL, THERE COULD POSSIBLY BE SOME SOFTENING. THE ELECTIONS ARE NOT OTHERWISE IMMEDIATELY RELEVANT TO THE HOSTAGE SITUATION OTHER THAN AS A STEP IN KHOMEINY'S CONSOLIDATION OF POWER. ✓

9. REPERCUSSIONS. THE CURRENT SITUATION IN IRAN HAS HAD A DOUBLE RESONANCE IN THE REGION. ON THE ONE HAND IT HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE ISLAMIC REVIVAL -- A MOVEMENT WHICH IS NOT IN ITSELF ANTI-WESTERN BUT MORE DIRECTED AGAINST LEADERS IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD WHO HAVE BECOME OVERLY SECULAR. A SECOND EFFECT DERIVES FROM THE USE BY THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION OF THE JARGON OF ANTI-IMPERIALISM. THIS HAS MADE IT DIFFICULT FOR SOME ARAB REGIMES TO TAKE A POSITION TOO FAR FROM THAT OF KHOMEINY, EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE UNCOMFORTABLE IN ASSOCIATION WITH HIM.

BT

#8104

DEC 5 3 35 PM '79

10. THE PLANNING STAFF ANALYSIS IS THAT, IF THERE IS  
Approved For Release 2007/03/08 : CIA-RDP81B00401R000400130011-5

NO USE OF FORCE IN THE REGION, THE WAVE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM WILL DIE DOWN. (UNLESS THERE IS ANOTHER ACTION WHICH COULD BE REGARDED AS PROVOCATION SUCH AS THE SHAH'S GOING TO EGYPT. THIS, SAID GERGORIN, WOULD BE VERY DESTABILIZING). THE ARAB GULF STATES HAVE DEMONSTRATED A REMARKABLE STABILITY, THOUGH PROSPECTS FOR SAUDI ARABIA ARE NOW LESS BRIGHT. THE ATTACK AT MECCA WILL HAVE A NEGATIVE LONG TERM EFFECT, FIRST, BECAUSE IT WILL LEAD TO INCREASED AUTHORITARIANISM WHICH COULD BREED DISCONTENT AND, SECONDLY BECAUSE THERE WILL CERTAINLY BE CONTROVERSY WITHIN THE ROYAL FAMILY OVER HOW TO APPORTION BLAME. EXTERNALLY, AND PARTICULARLY IN THE ARAB WORLD, THE MYTH OF SAUDI SOLIDARITY HAS BEEN BROKEN.

11. WESTERN OBJECTIVES. THERE ARE TWO CLEAR OBJECTIVES IN THE CURRENT SITUATION: (1) OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES AND (2) OVER THE LONGER TERM INCREASE THE STABILITY OF THE REGION. THERE IS A POTENTIAL CONTRADICTION IN THAT, IF FORCE SHOULD BE USED TO BRING ABOUT THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES, IT COULD WORK AGAINST REGIONAL STABILITY. IN ADDITION TO THE OBJECTIVE OF GETTING THE HOSTAGES OUT, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT KHOMEINY NOT EMERGE FROM THE CRISIS STRONGER THAN EVER. STRONG US ACTION MIGHT HAVE THE RESULT OF MAKING HIM A HERO. USE OF FORCE AGAINST IRAN WOULD ALSO HAVE THE EFFECT OF BRINGING THE ARABS BEHIND KHOMEINY -- AND EVEN LIBYA IS NOT REALLY BEHIND HIM NOW. SPEAKING PERSONALLY, GERGORIN SAID THAT THE BEST TACTIC MIGHT BE TO AVOID ACTION AND GIVE TIME FOR KHOMEINY'S INFLUENCE TO DECLINE IN A SITUATION IN WHICH IRAN IS MORE AND MORE ISOLATED INTERNATIONALLY WHILE FACING GROWING PROBLEMS INTERNALLY.  
Approved For Release 2007/03/08 : CIA-RDP81B00401R000400130011-5  
HARTMAN